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RELEASED IN FULL

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ACTION AF-01

INFO LOG-00 CIAE-00 C-01 DODE-00 EUR-01 HA-09 H-01 INRE-00 INR-01 L-03 ADS-00 NSAE-00 NSCE-00 OMB-01 PA-01 PM-02 PRS-01 P-01 SNP-00 SP-00 SSO-00

SS-00 TRSE-00 T-01 USIE-00 /024W

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FM AMEMBASSY DAR ES SALAAM

TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 9482

INFO AMEMBASSY KIGALI PRIORITY

AMEMBASSY ADDIS ABABA

AMEMBASSY BUJUMBURA

AMEMBASSY DAKAR

AMEMBASSY KAMPALA

AMEMBASSY PARIS

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

AMEMBASSY BONN

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S/S-0 PLEASE PASS TO AF/C AT OOB

ALSO FOR AF/E, AF/RA

BRUSSELS FOR DUBROW, BONN FOR KLEMP, PARIS FOR PERLOW

E.O. 12356: DECL:OADR TAGS: PREL, OAU, RW, TZ

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SUBJECT: ARUSHA V: TANZANIANS ADVISED TO LET THE

- RWANDANS TALK

REF: A) STATE 372050

B) DAR ES SALAAM 06591

- 1. CONFIDENTIAL ENTIRE TEXT.
- 2. POLOFF RELAYED SUBSTANCE OF REF A TO TANZANIAN MFA DIRECTOR FOR AFRICA AND MIDDLE EAST AMI MPUNGWE ON NOVEMBER 17. MPUNGWE, IN ADDITION TO EXPRESSING HIS

GRATITUDE FOR OUR CONTINUED CLOSE COORDINATION AND SUPPORT, ALSO OBSERVED THAT HE WAS HAVING SOME SECOND THOUGHTS ABOUT THE WISDOM OF TRYING TO CALL A SUMMIT AT THIS TIME. WOULD IT ENCOURAGE THE PARTIES TO THINK THAT EVERY TIME THEY HIT AN OBSTACLE AT ARUSHA THEY COULD DEMAND A SUMMIT (THUS TRANSFERRING THE NEGOTIATION TO THAT LEVEL)? WHAT HAPPENS IF THE LEADERS MEET AND THEN DON'T AGREE? HE AGREED THAT FOR THE TIME BEING, IT WAS BEST TO LET THE PARTIES IN KIGALI TRY TO SORT OUT THEIR DIFFERENCES. HE NOTED THAT MINISTER DIRIA WOULD PROBABLY WANT TO TALK TO THE OBSERVERS AGAIN NOVEMBER 19 OR 20 TO REVIEW THE SITUATION AND DECIDE WHETHER NEGOTIATIONS SHOULD RECONVENE ON NOVEMBER 23 OR BE POSTPONED.

3. MPUNGWE ADDED THAT THEIR CONCERN FOR THE FRAGILITY OF THE CEASE-FIRE STEMMED FROM THE LANGUAGE RPF LEADER KAGAME USED WITH PRESIDENT MWINYI ABOUT GOR MILITARY PREPARATIONS. HE SAID KAGAME PARTICULARLY OBJECTED TO THE FRENCH ROLE, AND CLAIMED THAT "THE FRENCH ARE CONFIDENTIAL

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HELPING THEM PREPARE FOR WAR." POLOFF OBSERVED THAT
THE FRENCH MILITARY PRESENCE, WHILE A DIFFICULT
POLITICAL ISSUE, APPEARED TO BE A VALUABLE STABILIZING
FACTOR, PRESERVING THE MILITARY EQUILIBRIUM THAT MADE
NEGOTIATIONS POSSIBLE. MPUNGWE ALLOWED THAT THE RPF
MAY BE HARPING ON THIS ISSUE IN THE HOPE OF FORCING
THE FRENCH TO WITHDRAW THEIR ASSISTANCE, THUS ALTERING
THE MILITARY BALANCE IN THE RPF'S FAVOR. HE AGREED
THAT SUCH A WEAKENING OF THE GOR WOULD NOT PROMOTE A
FAIR SETTLEMENT, AND THAT IT COULD DESTABILIZE THE
COUNTRY.

4. MPUNGWE EXPRESSED SOME DISMAY WITH THE TIME AND DIFFICULTY INVOLVED IN THE NEGOTIATIONS, AND SAID HE EXPECTED THE MILITARY TALKS TO BE EVEN TOUGHER THAN THE POLITICAL DISCUSSIONS. HE RECALLED THAT DURING ARUSHA III THE OBSERVERS AND THE TANZANIANS (AND EVEN THE PARTIES THEMSELVES) HAD SAID THAT ONCE THE POWERS OF THE PRESIDENCY WERE SETTLED, EVERYTHING ELSE WOULD "FALL INTO PLACE." BUT THAT HAS NOT HAPPENED. POLOFF POINTED OUT THAT THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS HAD RAISED NEW ISSUES AND INTRODUCED NEW ACTORS WITHIN RWANDA, GREATLY COMPLICATING THE NEGOTIATORS' TASK.

5. MPUNGWE ALSO CONFIRMED THAT MINISTER DIRIA IS PLANNING TO VISIT SOUTH KOREA NOVEMBER 22-25 AND SO WOULD NOT BE PRESENT FOR AN OPENING ON THE 23RD ANYWAY. ASKED ABOUT ARRANGEMENTS FOR THE CHAIR, MPUNGWE SAID HE WAS STILL HOPING THAT THE PRESIDENT WOULD AGREE TO APPOINT ANOTHER SENIOR OFFICIAL OR RETIRED MINISTER (THERE ARE SEVERAL POSSIBILITIES, BUT CONFIDENTIAL

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PAGE 04 DAR ES 06621 01 OF 02 181203Z MPUNGWE FAVORS FORMER PRIME MINISTER JOSEPH WARIOBA) AS ACTING OR CO-CHAIR.

- 6. COMMENT: WE THINK THAT THE TANZANIANS WILL AWAIT THE OUTCOME OF THE ROUND OF MEETINGS TAKING PLACE THIS WEEK IN KIGALI BEFORE SUGGESTING ANY FURTHER STEPS. THEY REMAIN PREPARED TO RE-ENGAGE THE MOMENT IT SEEMS DESIRABLE. MPUNGWE REASSURED US THAT PRESIDENT MWINYI IS PREPARED TO DO "ANYTHING" TO BE HELPFUL (ANYTHING, APPARENTLY, EXCEPT REPLACE HIS PERIPATETIC FOREIGN MINISTER).
- 7. ACTION REQUESTED: WE WOULD APPRECIATE

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SUBJECT: ARUSHA V: TANZANIANS ADVISED TO LET THE

RWANDANS TALK

DEPARTMENT'S OPINION OF THE FEASIBILITY OF A RESUMPTION ON THE 23RD. AT THIS POINT, WE ARE INCLINED TO ADVISE THE TANZANIANS TO CONSULT CLOSELY WITH THE PARTIES REGARDING WHETHER THEY CAN BE READY BY THEN, AND BE PREPARED FOR A POSTPONEMENT. ALSO, IF DAVE RAWSON IS BEING REPLACED, WE WOULD APPRECIATE RECEIVING THE NAME AND A SHORT BIO OF THE NEW U.S. REPRESENTATIVE AS SOON AS IT BECOMES AVAILABLE.

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